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836 to me—there were none at Kurtatchi—the unmarried girls indulged in amours as freely as their married contemporaries, but, like them, were desirous of avoiding pregnancy, fearing that they would then be under some difficulty in obtaining a husband later. But in places where there has been little white contact, I incline to think, though the evidence bearing on the point is rather inferential than direct, that pre-marital intercourse is not, and never has been, prevalent among these natives, to any great extent, in respect of either males or females.

882 In this area the relations between the sexes before marriage
● 834 must be considered in the light of two circumstances which have a very definite influence upon them. The first is the elaborate hedge of taboos and restrictions surrounding the boys wearing the *upi*, that is to say, all the boys between the ages of about ten and about eighteen. These regulations are—or were at the time of my visit—still strictly binding, or, if broken, so much care is taken that the delinquents are seldom found out. Their effect is to keep the boys completely away from the women and girls, from which it follows that sexual advances are forbidden. One or two cases were reported to me of boys indulging in sexual intercourse while still wearing the *upi*, but they were spoken of with bated breath, and clearly considered very great enormities and quite exceptional.
[684] This, I believe, indicates the actual position and was not merely the statement of the conventional standpoint. In the olden days, discovery would have been punished with death for both parties.

582 The second factor to be considered is that boys, and more
[164] especially girls, are generally betrothed while still quite small children. I was told of girls who had been betrothed 'before they had yaws', which indicates that they were hardly more than a year old, since this tropical skin disease falls to the lot of practically
584 every child about the age of one or two years. My informants told me that the match was generally arranged by the boy's father, but in practice I found that it was just as likely to be the boy's mother's brother who took the initiative, and that other people also might, and often did, take a hand in the matter. One day, while I was visiting the village of Tabut, a man from Ruri came over to see if he could get a certain young woman as a wife for his sister's son. He was prepared to give two strings of *imun* and some *beroan*, the amount of which he did not state. She was married to a man who is working at Timputs, but he said the man had divorced her,

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you must not go near her. She will be unhappy because of you, and will not be able to eat. Next day she will climb a tree and call out to all the men to find you and fight you, because you have scorned her. She will say: 'Why does he run away from me, I want him.' Then she will want you so much that she will go to your hut. (This is a grave breach of etiquette.) Her brother will be very angry, and will come to you and ask why you have done this to his sister. Then you will tell him it is because he seduced your sister.

This magic must be taught to no one except the possessor's sister's son.

I could never learn of any medicine to be used by a woman for taking revenge on a man who had abandoned her. It was noteworthy that, although some of the magic connected with love-making was known to and used by women, the great majority of my informants on this subject were men, the women seeming neither to know nor to care so much about this means of attracting a partner as the men did. Perhaps they feel more sure of the efficacy of their own personal charms. However that may be, it is certain that lovers are not lacking to any woman who wants them.

A woman desiring sexual intercourse with a man who does not make advances to her will, when opportunity arises, lie down in his presence with her legs apart, a position otherwise regarded as indecent. The word *payan* means to adopt it deliberately for this purpose. If a women exposes her genitals, even unwittingly, as in sleep, the situation is liable to be taken advantage of by any man whose passions may thereby be aroused. Both types of incident figure frequently in my collection of tales, as well as in village gossip. The proper behaviour for a woman is to sit or lie with her legs stretched out in front of her, keeping them close together. This is still the rule, although every adult now wears a loin-cloth. A young man once brought his little son, aged about three, to play on my verandah. The child sat down with his legs straight out, and another man immediately began to laugh. When I asked what the joke was, he said that the baby was sitting down like a girl.

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The people say there was a time when they had no knowledge of the sexual act, but men copulated with women at their armpits, and it was thought that the female genitalia were intended to provide them with lime in which to dip their areca-nut. The proper way to do it was taught first to the people of Tsiraun (Nissan), by

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the bush. Here it is not always convenient to lie down, so a standing position is adopted, the man behind the woman who bends her body forward. I have two drawings, both done by young men, showing couples in this position, and on one occasion when I observed children playing at copulation it was done thus.

The bush is the favourite place for love-making. The taro garden is frequently chosen by husband and wife; clandestine lovers prefer the uncleared bush. This preference is the basis of some of the stock insults current among these people. A person of either sex who is angry with a woman will say to her: '*Wanits i ratsu.*' 'You copulate in the bush', or '*Giug i ratsu.*' 'You conceive in the bush.' (These are indicatives, not imperatives.)[1]

As far as I know, there are no periods of special licence, nor is there any occasion on which extra-marital intercourse is either enjoined or sanctioned with ritual significance, unless we include the punishment of a woman in this manner for breaking taboos connected with the boys' puberty rites (see Chap. VI).

Sexual abstinence is imposed upon certain individuals under special circumstances, but I do not know of any time when the prohibition is general. A woman must refrain from intercourse for some time after the birth of a child. The young men who act as sponsors (*amro*) to the adolescent boys wearing the *upi* must remain continent during certain stages of the puberty rites. Abstinence during the previous night is essential if a man wishes to succeed in bonito fishing, but there are 'medicines' whereby the result of breaking this taboo may be circumvented.

PROSTITUTION

I learned of nothing that could be described as prostitution occurring among these people, as is perhaps to be expected in a community where a partner can be obtained without difficulty. Presents of tobacco, betel, &c., will sometimes pass between lovers, but these are signs of preference, not payment for services rendered. In most villages there are some women who are known to be liberal with their favours, usually these are young wives whose husbands are away working as indentured labourers.

[1] Other stock insults are concerned with incestuous relationships and with faeces, just as in other parts of Melanesia. Typical examples are '*No en sas a tin a tfinamen!*' 'Go eat your mother's faeces!' '*Tetop tfinan!*' 'Copulate with your mother!'

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When I showed my friends at Kurtatchi the photographs I had taken during a visit to the Kunua mountain natives, the first thing they noticed was the absence of loin-cloths. The women asked particularly if I had seen the Kunua women's pubic hair. On being answered in the affirmative, they seemed quite horrified, and both men and women hastened to explain that the Kunua people were only 'bush Kanakas' who did not know any better. Yet scarcely more than a few years ago they were following exactly the same fashion themselves.

Since the upper portion of their bodies is not covered, there is no such feeling connected with the breasts. Remarks will be passed on their shape, &c., entirely devoid of sexual implication, just as we might criticize a person's nose or eyes. The breasts do not figure in the tales, and, so far as I can learn, do not bulk largely in native love-making, though firm upstanding breasts are, as has been previously stated, considered a beauty.

In attempting to investigate the reactions of these people towards matters connected with sex, and to obtain information regarding sexual practices, I never encountered any hesitation or reticence, on the part of either men or women, whether by themselves or in mixed company. Many were quite willing to give their own personal experiences, and the details are, besides, often common knowledge throughout the village. The marital histories I have cited for illustration, when not based on personal observation or on information arising out of the collection of genealogies, were either given by the individuals concerned, or by other people in the village. All the persons mentioned were well known to me personally, unless otherwise stated.

But while willing enough to talk, they have great difficulty in putting their ideas into words, even in their own language, as soon as one tries to go beyond mere concrete description. In such inarticulateness they are, of course, by no means unique. I found it more pronounced in the women than in the men, and it was, far more than shyness or opposition, my chief difficulty throughout the whole investigation.

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must keep out of sight. In the olden days, if a woman were to meet one of the *amro* carrying food to the novices, she would instantly have been speared. Now that killing is forbidden, the punishment is that all the *amro* and all the *kwigin* have sexual intercourse with her in the bush. Sometimes she dies under this treatment. In any case her husband has no right to be angry or to retaliate. An occurrence such as this is the only occasion when the *amro* are allowed sexual intercourse while the novices are in the bush. Continence is necessary for them because they have to put paint on the hair of the novices, and oil on their skins. It would be harmful to the boys if any one who had had contact with a woman were to touch them. The *kwigin*, who sleep in the village, must never touch the skin of the novices. The *kwigin* are not denied intercourse, but it must take place in the hut, not at the taro garden (a very usual practice at ordinary times). Should one of them break this rule, the taro belonging to the woman who owns the garden must be thrown away, and she is forbidden to cook any more food for the novices.

Before giving the food to the novices, the *amro* must scrape off the outside of each taro, where the women's hands have touched it. This they keep for themselves, giving the boys the centre part. Only a small quantity of food is allowed. The *tsunaun* novices must eat first, commoners are not permitted to take so much as a bite till they have finished. If this rule is broken the *amro* must tell the *kwigin*, and the *kwigin* tell the women not to cook any taro for the boys next day, and for the whole day they must go hungry. The taro belonging to the *tsunaun* is kept in a separate basket hung from the roof of the hut, and if this should fall down by accident, the boys must go without their next meal.

Deprivation of food is also the penalty for fighting among the novices. For this offence all the boys must fast for two or three days, the time apparently varying according to the severity of the fight. The *amro* and the *kwigin* may not eat either, nor may those of the women who have sons among the novices. The people of the village must abstain from fighting or quarrelling among themselves; if this rule is broken the offenders must kill a pig and make a feast for the rest of the people.

Sometimes a woman will give some extra food to the *kwigin* and say: 'You go and give this piece of taro to my son.' If this becomes known, the *tsunaun* of the village will send word to some one who

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pigments. The *amro* of the *wagi'upi* (i.e. those of the novices who are *tsunaun* and therefore leaders of the group) take up their charges on their shoulders, the others walk. They return to the village, where everybody gathers to receive them. As they come up, all the people dance, the men doing the ordinary *kōma* and blowing the Pan-pipes, while the women, decorated with girdles of aromatic plants, form a line, and as the boys come towards them, do the special form of song and dance called *dāni*. Arrived at the centre of the village, the *wagi'upi* get down from the shoulders of their *amro*, and all the novices partake of taro and water, given to them by their *amro*. The women are not allowed to give them food as yet. This ceremonial return of the novices is called *wawats'upi*.

The novices then go down to the shore, if it is a coast village, and stand in line close to the edge of the sea. All women, not only the *tsina'upi*, pour sea-water over the boys' legs; this removes the prohibition under which they have been since the *wapi* ceremony, forbidding them to go into the sea. The women all rejoice because the boys have come back. The mothers pretend not to know their sons; they say: 'Before, he was a little fellow; we think this is another boy.' The boys may now remain in the village. They cannot under any circumstances return to the *nōnō*, and must avoid that part of the bush in which it is situated until it has fallen to pieces. They sleep in the *tobar* (boys' house) belonging to their own clan, and are from this time forward subject to all the rules and restrictions attendant upon the wearing of the *upi*, which will be discussed in the following pages.

For a few days the *amro* also sleep in the *tobar*. They may not enter their own huts or have intercourse with their wives until the *kwigin* have taken bamboo-lengths full of water and poured it out in front of all the huts belonging to the *amro*. After that the *amro* resume their normal life. If an *amro* has intercourse with his wife during the prohibited period, the *urar* will cause illness to come upon the woman, and should a child be born of such intercourse, it will resemble the figures of *urar* that are made for the *wapi* ceremony, that is, it will be without legs, and will have two heads, one growing out of the top of the other; this refers to the head of the *urar* appearing above the head of the man on whose shoulders it is being carried, who looks out of a peep-hole in the body of the figure. It is said that this taboo is so strong that no *amro* would dare to break it.

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881 The men from other villages who took part, by invitation, in the 574 *wapi* ceremony, are not invited to these subsidiary ceremonies, which are for the villages of the *upi* group only. But after a suitable 621 interval, usually about a month, there is a feast called *sinēv*, to give food to all the people who attended the *wapi*, in return for their presence and the part they took in shouting and attacking. This is accompanied by a *kōma*. The food, as usual, is not all consumed at the time, but large quantities are given to the guests to carry home with them.

REGULATIONS AND PROHIBITIONS FOR WEARERS OF THE *UPI* DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE *WAPI* AND THE *WATA-WUTJ* CEREMONIES

I. *Concerning women.*

882 Boys wearing the *upi* may not go into any house where a woman lives, not even their own mother's. Their female relatives may 689 prepare their food, but it must be handed out to them through the door at the *tagoan* (men's verandah). A boy breaking this rule [266] would, in the olden days, have been killed, and his body eaten by the older men. Now they would 'make poison' against him and his father and mother, so that all three would die. This taboo on entering a woman's hut is still most meticulously kept.

882 They may not sit on the *babots* (women's verandah) or go round to that side of the line of huts.

They may not play with the girls and women in communal games, or join a group of which women form part. For example, they were not allowed to join the groups of story-tellers on my verandah whenever there were women present, so in order to induce the women to share in the story-telling I had to fix certain nights on which the *upi* boys were not allowed to come.

882 It is a very serious offence for a boy wearing the *upi* to indulge in sexual intercourse. One or two cases known to my informants 834 were spoken of with the same horror and disgust—which I think 684 was genuine—as was accorded to the worst type of incest. Punishment in the olden days was death for both parties. They said that until recently such a thing was unheard of—that is as it may be. 882 But I am pretty certain that this taboo is still strictly observed, 832 with rare exceptions. The following incident, however, is perhaps worth recording for its bearing on this matter. One evening when

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881 313 creepers, for eight days. They were then stripped of their coverings by the *upi* boys, and left to dry in the sun till they should be required for the building of the 'long house'.

881 313 621 The *tartaras* (rafters) for the long house were also provided by the people of Tabut. These were brought in some days later, with renewed shouting and excitement, covered with leaves and the split leaves of young *win* palm in the same manner as the *pa'i*. But the occasion was regarded as much less important than the bringing in of the *pa'i*, and there was no *kōma* connected with it.

881 834 688 From the time when the *pa'i* are cut, up to the time when the *watawutf* takes place, it is accounted a very serious offence for any man in any of the villages concerned in the ceremony to have sexual intercourse with any woman other than his wife or wives, a proceeding ordinarily regarded with unconcern. It so happened that while the people of Tabut were working on the *pa'i* for the *watawutf* to be held at Kurtatchi, a man from one of the hamlets comprising the village of Tabut broke this taboo. The woman became pregnant, and was made to tell the name of her lover. As soon as this became known at Kurtatchi, some of the men of that village took a pole and tied some fibre to it; this they left in front of the house where the offender lived, as a sign that he had been found out. He was then obliged to pay a fine of a pig to the Kurtatchi people. Two of the Kurtatchi men went over the next day and brought the pig back; it was cut up and cooked immediately, and the *pa'i* were smeared with its fat. This was done in order to obviate the harm that might otherwise have ensued from the breaking of the taboo.

881 292 824 386 438 The next matter of importance was to arrange for the making of the special *upi*, to be used at the *watawutf*. These are elaborately ornamented with a cut-out pattern laid on over the usual *win* leaves. The cut-out is made of the same *win* palm leaves, dyed with a special dye, the secret of which is known only to the mountain people, from whom the leaves are purchased ready dyed. When, shortly before, I had gone upon a trip into the interior, I was charged by Pinari to bring back a supply of these from the Kunua people, who were experts in the art of dyeing them. This I did, and was also able to obtain from a Kunua native the secret of the dye, after promising that I would not disclose it to the coast people, a promise which it was not difficult to keep, as they had no idea that the mountain people had let me into the secret. The

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day the women must leave the village at sunrise, and go to the bush or to the shore. They cannot stop in the village while the work is actually in progress, but they may come back at sunset, when the men have ceased working on the hats for the day, and may sleep in their own huts. The *amro* and the *kwigin* attend at the *tobar*; it is their province to make the hats, the duty of the Hahon people being merely to cut the patterns from the red leaves. These village men are allowed to go to their own huts to sleep, and they are not forbidden sexual intercourse with their wives during this period. The *upi* boys, who would normally be sleeping in the *tobar*, must avoid those in which the work is being done, and find themselves quarters elsewhere. The *tsunaun* of the village sit in the *tobar* while the work is in progress, but take no part in it. No word must be spoken in the *tobar* while the patterns are being cut out. All the time it is essential that the workers should be well fed, and word is sent to the other villages of the group to bring in pig-meat for the men who are making the hats. The *upi* boys collect large quantities of areca-nut and betel-pepper and coco-nuts for them. The work goes on for several days, until each boy in the group is provided with his special hat. When all are finished, the slit-gong is beaten to let every one know that the making of the hats is over.

A story in my collection, related to me independently of any discussion of the ceremony, is here given as it illustrates the state of tension that prevails in the village at this time:

The people were busy making the hats for the *watawutf*. Ten men were cutting the patterns for ten hats. A woman went to cut firewood; she came back, and threw her load of firewood on to the ground. All the men in the *tobar* jumped up angrily. They asked: 'Who is that there?' They said to one man: 'You go and see who it is making a noise with a bundle of firewood.' The man went and saw the woman, she had thrown down her load of firewood. The man saw her. He went back into the *tobar* and said: 'It is a woman, she is throwing down a load of firewood.' The men all got up, they were very angry, they broke the patterns they were cutting. A *tsunaun* said: 'Go and seize her.' Two men went out and seized her; they pushed her into the *tobar*. They asked her: 'Don't you know this thing is very sacred? You defecate into my hands.' (This was explained to me as meaning: 'You don't know much.') Then all the men had connexion with the woman in the *tobar*. When they had all had connexion with her once, they killed her, and cooked her in a pot in the *tobar* and ate her. Then they cut patterns for the hats a second time, they cut ten. When night came, they lit torches;

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to represent are used at the *wapi* ceremony only, and this is the only one which is kept secret from the women. Both *watawutʃ* and *wasipsip* are held within the precincts of the village, and may be witnessed by anybody.

The people say that the *watawutʃ* is held in order to remove the taboo forbidding boys wearing the *upi* from entering huts occupied by women. It also removes, as previously stated, certain prohibitions regarding diet and chewing the betel-mixture. After this ceremony has been held there is no further need for the boy to be careful about being seen without his hat. The idea is, according to the old men, that as his growth of hair has been publicly shown when he climbed the *roror* tree, its length is no longer a secret, whereas if the women had seen it in the process of growth, they would not be surprised at its length when it was exhibited for their special benefit at the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

Most of the restrictions which have hitherto shut the wearer of the hat away from female society are relaxed after he has been through the *watawutʃ*. There still remains the taboo on sexual intercourse, which is not permitted until after the *wasipsip*. But the breaking of this rule is not so serious an offence as it would have been before the *watawutʃ*. One young man even asserted that sexual intercourse was allowed, provided the boy first took off his *upi* and left it in the *tobar*. Possibly this indicates a weakening in the observance of the rule, but it should be mentioned that the young man in question was not a very reliable informant, even when talking, as here, of matters with which he might be supposed to be well acquainted. Most people with whom I discussed this question were definitely of the opinion that a boy should not cohabit until he has finally removed the *upi*. The formal marriage ceremony is never held until the bridegroom has been through the *wasipsip*, although the girl to whom he has been betrothed, possibly from infancy, may have been living in his parents' hut for some time.

The keeping of this taboo imposes sexual continence upon the boys of this community not only during adolescence but also beyond it, since the *upi* may be seen on the heads of some who are, to judge from their appearance, fully mature young men. A few incidents illustrating the effect of this repression have been given in the previous pages, and some dreams reported by wearers of the *upi* are discussed in this connexion in Chapter XVI. The question

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would repay fuller investigation from the psychological standpoint than I was able to give it.

The boys wearing the *upi* are not exempt from taking their share in the work of the village. They are encouraged by the older men to share in their daily round. They help in cutting the bush to prepare the ground for planting taro, though they are not allowed in the taro garden while women are working there. They are taken fishing, both ordinary reef-fishing and bonito-fishing. They are taught the technique of canoe-making, house-building, and so on. They join in the ceremonial dances, going round in wheel-formation with the men.

As well as the activities which they share with the adult men, they have also their own. Parties of them were always going off into the bush on their own, either to hunt for small creatures to cook for themselves, or just to wander about. Not wanting to be always with their elders, and debarred from playing with girls of their own age, they have every inducement to develop an organized 'gang' among themselves. There is a word, *tobarupi*, which means 'all the boys' (in a given village). There seems to be a considerable amount of solidarity in their life together, and I do not think that any boy wearing the *upi* was deliberately made to feel an outsider. One of the boys at Kurtatchi was deaf and dumb, but he had been granted the privilege of putting on the *upi*, and was accepted by the others without distinction. They used to laugh at him sometimes, but it was always in friendly fashion, and they never left him out of their pursuits, having evolved a system of signs whereby he could be made to understand what they wanted to convey to him.

In times past, whatever secret chafing may have gone on in the privacy of the *tobar*, the boys seem to have accepted the restrictions under which they laboured with a good grace, and to have felt that they were compensated by the importance conferred upon them. But at the time of my visit signs of resentment at the irksomeness of the taboos might be detected among the older boys. They were supported in their rebellion by the Missions and the employers of labour, and some of the younger men shared their point of view, though every one was careful not to voice his unorthodox views too loudly, in case of punishment either by the *ura* or by the *tsunaun*. One or two men with young sons told me, in private, that they were not going to let their children put on the *upi* when

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In the early morning, as soon as you get up, catch one of the dogs, force his mouth open, and fix it open with a stick of *bɔ*. Take some of the mixture in the *kōbū* and smear the dog with it. Then take the dog to the beach, mix some sea-water with the contents of the *kōbū*, and make the dog drink some of it. Then put bits of the stalk of *karamusis* up the dog's nostrils and blow upon them. This makes the nostrils bleed freely, which clears the blood out of the dog's nose so that he can smell the pigs better.

When you have done this to all the dogs, go back to the village, into the men's house, taking the first dog with you, and make the dog eat some of the chewed betel-mixture, without any sea-water mixed with it. Then hold the dog by the tail and swing him round several times, inside the men's house. Treat all the dogs in this way.

This is all that is done on the first day.

Another day, scrape *katʃan* and *managewan*, and scrape some *arog* (coco-nuts, the meat of which is hard and firm and the milk considered unsuitable for drinking). Take a piece of broken pot, put in the scraped coco-nuts and the bark of the two plants, and cook the mixture over the fire without adding any water to it. When it is ready, call for the dog who was treated first the day before, put some of the mixture into half a coco-nut shell, and make him eat it. Then do the same with the second dog, and so on till they have all eaten, in the same order as they were treated the first day.

This is the end of the work for the second day.

Next day, get up early and go and hunt pig. If the dogs kill one, tie it up, call out for men to come and carry it in, take it to the village and cook it in a pot (this is somewhat unusual, pigs are generally roasted). At the same time the women must cook plenty of taro. When the pig is ready, get some leaves of *gunasgu* and throw them into the pot. If this were not done, and if it happened that one of the men who shared the contents of the pot were newly married, and had recently slept with his wife for the first time, or if any of them had a wife who was pregnant, the magic would not work, and the dogs would not be able to kill pigs. But if these leaves are put into the pot, a man in such a case can eat of it without any ill effects. Then all the men of the village eat the pig.

The next day, go out hunting with the dogs again, and kill another pig. Bring it home and cook it in the village, in a pot as before. This pig belongs to the women, who all eat of it. No

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attend to the steering as well as to his rod and line. His rod is not held in the hand, except when landing a fish. The proximal end of it rests against a small piece of wood with a groove in it, fixed in the centre of the canoe, it then passes between the man's legs and under his thigh, which holds it in place, leaving his hands free to wield the paddle. When a fish takes the hook, the paddle is thrown into the bottom of the canoe, the rod is caught up, and the fish jerked over the side. Only one hook is attached to each rod. No bait is used, the resemblance of the hook to the small fish on which the bonito feed being sufficient attraction. The first bonito caught after a period of bad luck is decorated with paint and put back into the sea. This is supposed to attract the other fish to the hook. 226

Magical procedure connected with bonito fishing.

In view of the importance attaching to bonito fishing in the native mind, it is natural that there should be a large number of 'medicines', and an elaborate ritual directed towards ensuring a good catch. Bonito magic is not common knowledge, usually only one or two men in each village know it. As a rule, one man belonging to each clan represented in the village is in possession of this information, which he should pass on to a relative of the same clan before he dies. The usual heir to the secret is his sister's son. I obtained two accounts of magical procedure for bringing the bonito into the neighbourhood. Both were given to me by a man named Minka, living at Kurtatchi, but belonging originally to the village of Hanahan on the east coast of Buka. While Minka was giving me this information, Sobak, who knows all about it, kept watch to make sure that no one could overhear. As they differ considerably in detail, I give them both in full. Both require strict abstinence from sexual intercourse on the part of the operator. [834]

To bring bonito to your fishing grounds.

When you do this you must get up early in the morning and go into the bush without eating. Look for a piece of white *kakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata*, a white variegation, occurs in deep shade, and is much prized for decorative purposes). You must not see or be seen by anybody while you are getting it; if that happens you must throw it away and look for some more. Then catch a *kwakun* [824]

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watch from the village. While all the men are paddling hard, take out the stopper of your lime-pot and leave it open all the time the canoe is out. When it comes ashore, put back the stopper, then the bonito will stop feeding. If a canoe from another village comes up to fish, don't take the stopper out, then they will not be able to catch any.

The bonito will be there for several days, and all the canoes will go out. The bundle that was sunk in the hole will now be rotten, and will stink. All the canoes must go ashore at the place where the bundle was sunk, and must clean the fish over the hole. The blood of the bonito will go into the bundle, and this will cause the fish to come in great numbers.

Suppose the men from another place boast about catching bonito, and say: 'We know how to catch plenty of bonito', you say: 'What do you mean? You know how to catch plenty of bonito? You can't talk like that.' If you want to prevent the people of a certain place from catching bonito, get the stalk of *bō* and chew it with areca-nut and lime, and then bury it in the place where they keep their bonito canoe. Then, even if your own canoe is catching plenty, they won't be able to catch any, and they will say: 'Why is our canoe not catching any bonito? What are we to eat?'

If you want to make the bonito go away, you have intercourse with a woman secretly; there will be no more bonito. When you want them to come back again, you must refrain from sexual intercourse; this is very important. If you go with a woman, the bonito will go away. The other men will think they have gone of their own accord, they do not know about this rule.

When you want the bonito to come back again, you must get a new set of leaves, *papava*, *vakalō*, *hakariuk*, to help the bundle you left on the reef before. Put this new bundle on the top of the old one, fasten it down strongly with stones, and set a new time, five nights, or ten, if you like. Wait for the bonito for this time, staying in your own village. When the canoe goes out, take out the stopper of your lime-pot. The canoe must come ashore again at the place where the bundle is buried, and the fish must be cleaned there, so that their blood runs down on to the bundle; then there will be plenty of fish. When the canoe comes ashore, put back the stopper of your lime-pot, and the bonito will stop feeding.

Minka told me that this procedure was very secret. Hardly

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During this performance the medicine man is chanting incantations to the spirits, the names of whom are: Timas, Nahu, Pineri, Sam, and Tolalu. He cries in a sing-song voice: 'Oh, Spirits! Come and help me bring the *atūn* to our fishing-grounds. Bring them from Petats and from Nissan, from Sēlō and New Ireland. Let them come here, and when they come may their eyes be opened so that they may see the hooks on the end of the lines, and may their mouths hold fast the lines.'

Then the medicine man and his assistant begin the work of scraping the inner bark of the trees and preparing the herbs for the pot. The scraping is done on a fallen tree-trunk. When the mixture has been prepared, then the other men of the village are called and assemble about the place where the preparations have been carried out. The mixture is already carefully tied up in the little leaf packages and counted by the medicine man. Each man requests that he should be given his package. But the medicine man refuses, saying that in due time when the *atūn* are near, then will they each receive their packages. The men then scrape together with their fingers any remnants of the herbs that may be left on the fallen tree-trunk and lick their fingers clean with their tongues, and smear the red mixture on their faces and their foreheads.

Young drinking coco-nuts and cooked taro are then brought from the village and a small feast is held. The medicine man, however, is not allowed to partake of any food. From the commencement of operations he is forced to fast, chewing only betel-nut and pepper-stick and drinking young coco-nuts. During this time, also, he must not visit the village nor have any intercourse with his wife. He is allowed to smoke, but is not allowed to sleep.

After the feast the medicine man takes a small piece of the tree-trunk upon which the herbs have been mixed and eats it, then, spitting into his hands, he walks into the sea, dips his hands into the water, and, rising to his full height, sings out: 'The *atūn* from Petats and from Lontis and from Nissan shall come here to-morrow. When I arise in the morning the sea shall be white with their splashings.' As he calls out the names of the several places from which the *atūn* shall come, he faces in their direction. Returning to the beach he seats himself amongst the other men, and tells them they must also call out for the *atūn* to come. The men follow his instructions and call out in a similar manner.

While the men are calling, one man, usually the assistant, climbs

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secretly into a calophyllum tree close at hand on the beach, breaks a limb of the tree, and calls out: '*I niga no ta ien naut mahū.*' ('It is well. The fish come to-morrow.') This is supposed to be a sign from the spirits to the men gathered there on the beach.

The men seat themselves again and chew betel-nut. While they are thus chewing, the assistant, or some other man specially appointed, comes up behind several of the seated men and steals their pepper-sticks. This is in imitation of the *atūn* stealing the fish-hooks of the fishermen.

The betel-nut chewing continues until late at night. Then about ten o'clock the medicine man tells the men that it is time for them to go. He tells them, also, to let every one know that it is taboo for any one to walk along the beach with lighted flares, and small boys may not play on the beach spearing fish along the water's edge.

When the men have departed, the medicine man takes the *tokamu* (carved fish) and places it on his head. The fish's head must point to the bush. He holds it with both hands, and calls out to all the spirits to help him bring the *atūn* to the fishing-ground. He then buries the stone in the sand above high-water mark, allowing the head of the fish to protrude, pointing towards the bush. This is in order that the *atūn* may see the head of the fish and may copy its position by having their heads on top so that the fish-hooks may be seen and their mouths hooked. The medicine man then calls out the day when the *atūn* shall come. Sometimes it is five days from the time when the charm is buried in the sand; sometimes it is ten days, according to his intuition.

The place on the beach where the charm is buried is taboo, no one is allowed to approach.

On the day when the *atūn* is expected all the *mon* from the island are manned and are launched into the deep water. Here they form a line and await the advent of the fish. In each *mon* there are two fish-lines attached to bamboo poles. In smaller *mon*, where there are only two rowers, the bamboo pole and the fish-line is held by the steersman usually between his legs, to leave his hands free for steering. The bamboo pole is about twelve feet long. The fish-hooks are made from clam-shell with a tortoise-shell barb. (Clam-shell, *ayats*; tortoise-shell barb, *nahits*.) Neither the steersman nor the men holding the bamboo are allowed to have sexual connexion with their wives during the night previous to the expedition.

The first *atūn* to be caught is held securely by one of the steersmen

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Konkon (a creeper).

Chew the root with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm, and rub all over your skin before you start out; this will cause the fish to bite.

Wagoguir (a large tree which grows on the shore).

Pound some of the bark and wash it in sea-water. Drink a little of this mixture, and pour the rest over your head. Chew some of the leaves and spit them out into the sea where the tide will carry them away. Then go and fish for bonito and you will have a good catch.

Maniyiy (a sweet-scented grass of the *Cymbopogon* species used in India for making citronella oil).

If you have been very unsuccessful, chew the root with betel-mixture and rub your legs where the rod lies across them, then take another piece of the root and put it in your hair when you go fishing.

It is important that a man who goes fishing for bonito should not have sexual intercourse, either with his wife or with any one else, the night before. If he has done so, it is said that the fish smell the woman and will not bite. The disability may be overcome by chewing the root of *bariur* (*Crinum asiaticum*) with betel-mixture and rubbing the chewed mass on the outside of the thighs where the rod lies across them. This 'removes the smell of the woman' and the fish will then bite. A man whose wife is pregnant must on no account go out in a bonito canoe, neither must a man who is newly married and has recently slept with his wife for the first time. There is no 'medicine' to counteract this taboo.

Other fishing methods

For fish other than bonito a variety of methods is employed, of which the following are the most important:

METHODS USED BY MEN ONLY

A. *Open sea and lagoon fishing.*
   1. Net on frame.
   2. Troll line.
   3. Rod and line.
   4. Fishing kite.

B. *Reef fishing.*
   5. Bow and arrow.
   6. Spear.
   7. Line and hook.
   8. Hand-plunging trap.

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9. Thorn-lined trap.
10. Stunning and poisoning.
11. Drives.

METHODS USED BY WOMEN ONLY

12. Barricade of leaves.
13. Women's hand-net.
14. Basket.
15. Groping with hand under stones.
16. Collecting shell-fish.

METHODS USED BY BOTH SEXES

C. *Freshwater fishing.*

17. Hand-net.
18. Dam made of leaves.

METHODS USED BY MEN ONLY

226 A. *Open sea and lagoon fishing.*

The outrigger canoe is used in these methods, and as a rule the fishermen do not go very far out, preferring the smoother water off the lee shore, though they do, in favourable weather, also venture into the open sea. Women do not take part in these [834] excursions, but there are none of the sexual taboos which are observed in connexion with bonito fishing.

1. *Net on frame.*

227 286 283 [824] The net (*ū bean*, P.; *ēb*, K.[1]) is made of native fibre-string. This string is made of the tough fibrous layer underlying the skin of the stem of a running creeper called *karēb*, by rolling on the bare thigh. It must be made in short sections, as the creeper-stem is furnished with a series of nodes at intervals of six or seven inches, at which the fibre breaks off when stripped. The short lengths are joined by twisting the ends between the fingers. For the finer string, two strands of this fibre are sufficient. The action of rolling on the thigh is called *kanun*. This suffices for the finest nets for catching small fish. For lines intended for bonito and for nets for bigger fish several strands are twisted together on the thigh, and three sets of these are rolled (not plaited) over and over each other

[1] P. = Petats dialect, K. = Kurtatchi dialect. The native terms given are in the Kurtatchi dialect unless otherwise specified.

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red oxide paint and struggle to escape the retaining holds of their mothers. The *muri-na-lium* wildly brandish spears and axes to frighten the women.

All *tseezen* are then paraded in a circle as a farewell to their mothers and female relatives. The women fling themselves down upon the ground, crying and moaning and calling on their sons to remain with them rather than brave the dangers of Ndook. They work themselves into a paroxysm of fear and reach a stage bordering hysteria. (I have noted occasions when several women in throwing themselves upon the ground have become divested of their loin-cloths and, quite oblivious of the fact, have rolled about naked. At the present time a Pororan woman would ordinarily never do this. As the *tseezen* march around accompanied by the *muri-na-lium* the latter keep the women at a distance with the aid of their weapons. After half-an-hour or so the *tseezen* are led away to the ceremonial ground, followed as far as the boundary of the village by a wailing hysterical crowd of female relatives. When they arrive at the ground they are ranged in a line, together with their guards, who hold each one by the arm to prevent his escape.

From every direction there then arises the cry of the *liahan* and the squawking piercing notes of the *rago*. From the direction whence the *bahuan* and the *malai* will come then rise the shouts of the *muri-na-lium* and the *putz-putzi* as they slowly advance through the bush. As they emerge, covered in bush leaves or thin strips of coconut fronds (see Plate II, B), and carrying the images a small number of the *muri-na-lium* rush toward them and engage in a mock fight, their purpose being to make a pretence of defending the *tseezen* from the ravages of Ndook. Sometimes an attacker will rough-handle a *tseezen* for a few moments, but seldom is any bodily harm done in these conflicts. The *bahuan* and the *malai* are then placed in the centre of the clearing and are surrounded by the *putz-putzi*. Here they remain for a short space of time and are then taken away to the bush with much shouting, accompanied by the roarings of the *liahan* and cries of the *rago*. The *muri-na-lium* then explain to the newly-initiated youths the absolute necessity for strict secrecy to be maintained towards all *tseezen* and women in respect of what they have seen. The penalty following any breach is death.